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AUTHOR Ginsburg, Alan; Hanson, Sandra
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ABSTRACT

This report provides evidence of a critical link between values and success among youth at risk of failure in school and life. Success-related outcomes include academic success and responsible behavior with respect to drugs and sexual relations. The report examines research evidence linking student attitudes and values to successful outcomes in the following four broad areas: (1) goals; (2) control over goals; (3) responsibility; and (4) conformity to societal norms. Successful intervention strategies and programs that promote positive values and attitudes in students are discussed and described within the following categories: (1) directly instructing students in values; (2) providing experientially based opportunities; (3) role playing; (4) incentives and opportunities; and (5) providing good role models. The report presents the following recommendations: (1) values approaches should be integrated into each school's overall program of student improvement; (2) schools should develop comprehensive strategies that address home and community, as well as school, influences; (3) opportunity must be recognized as an essential component of many values strategies, and extra resources for supplemental instruction, personnel training and supervision, smaller class or group size, and home and community outreach efforts must be provided; (4) schools must design individualized tactics appropriate to achieving specific outcomes; and (5) strategies should be consistent and long-term. The report includes one figure. (AF)

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VALUES AND SUCCESS: STRATEGIES FOR AT-RISK CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Alan Ginsburg
U.S. Department of Education

and

Sandra Hanson
The Catholic University of America

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Introduction

Children who are born into families with relatively few material and educational resources face special obstacles to success in school. They will have to work harder than other children who have more resources but may be no more talented. Whether the disadvantaged children exert that extra effort depends on whether they have a strong desire to succeed, believe in their own abilities, and manifest the self-discipline and perseverance required to become good students. The qualities that motivate people to do well are defined as success-related values.

In 1989 an analysis of more than 10,000 high school sophomores from low-income families found that those with high grade-point averages (the upper one-fifth) had values and attitudes very different from those with low grade-point averages (the bottom one-fifth) (Ginsburg & Hanson, 1989). The high-performers were:

- 43 percent more likely to believe that it pays to make plans for their future;
- 163 percent more likely to indicate that they work hard in school;
- 131 percent more likely to have a mother who thinks they should attend college; and
- 96 percent more likely to have friends in school who think well of students with good grades.

The study of 10,000 sophomores (Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988) also found the overall effect of values to be consistently larger than the effect of socioeconomic status across a range of student outcomes, including academic achievement, school discipline, and high school graduation. This finding confirmed an earlier finding by Walberg (1984), whose meta-analysis of factors that influence learning by American children revealed that factors within parental control, such as parental concern and encouragement, contributed twice as much to academic learning as family socioeconomic status did. All these findings reinforce the notion that the development of character and intellect go hand and hand.

Some American schools have been hesitant to attempt to encourage children to adopt certain values because values are perceived as relative rather than absolute, or values are described as being morally based. The premise in this report is that, although values may sometimes be justified in terms of morality or religion, agreement on morality or a common theology is not essential. Certain values such as high educational expectations, self-esteem, and responsibility consistently lead to success in school, and therefore schools should encourage these values to achieve this end. For many young children who grow up in an environment that may not reinforce these characteristics, such encouragement may be especially important.

VALUES-SUCCESS FRAMEWORK
(Figure 1)

This report provides evidence of a critical link between values and success among youths at risk for failure in school and life. The success-related outcomes include academic success and responsible behavior with respect to drugs and sexual relations. First, we examine the research evidence linking student attitudes and values to successful outcomes. Then we discuss some promising educational strategies that support a values approach and make some concluding recommendations. These successful strategies generally require extra resources to pay for supplemental instruction, specially trained personnel, smaller class or group size, and home or community outreach efforts, but the payoffs to society and the economy in enriched lives and productivity are incalculable.

The Values Research

The literature that explores the effects of values on what happens to young people, particularly the literature that deals with disadvantaged young people, is revealing. In Figure 1 we relate strategies to values and outcomes.

We considered four broad sets of attitudes and values: goals, control over goals, responsibility, and conformity to societal norms. The outcomes we considered include poor academic achievement, dropping out of high school, drug use, and teenage pregnancy. Although most of the research discussed here involves the values and attitudes of young people, particularly disadvantaged ones, we also reviewed some research that focuses

on the attitudes and values of parents and peers as they affect young people's values and outcomes.

Goals

Goal-related values reflect personal aims; success in school and desire to obtain a postsecondary education are two examples of work-related goals for students. Young children focus on immediate goals. Praise from the teacher or a parent for learning numbers or for reading a book are rewards that reinforce goal-related behavior for young children. With maturity, long-term accomplishments should replace the need for immediate reward. In economists' terms, the young person needs to seek to develop human capital in the form of marketable knowledge and skills.

As might be expected, teenagers who feel that they have few options in life, foresee limited school and employment opportunities, and come from homes where little value is placed on educational and intellectual development have been found to be more likely to experience problems than are other teenagers. They are less likely to achieve in school (Myers et al., 1985; Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988), more likely to drop out of school (Myers & Ellman, 1983; Rumberger, 1983; Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988) and to experience early pregnancy and parenthood (Hogan & Kitagawa, 1985; Moore & Hofferth, 1980; Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988). Bachman (1987) and his colleagues found that the effects of plans

for college on educational attainment were as strong as the effects of socioeconomic status.

Youths who have well-defined goals are more likely to engage in behavior that promotes attaining those goals. With respect to pregnancy prevention, Meara (1981) found through interviews with young women, that those who used contraception consistently tended to have clear ideas about what they want to accomplish and how.

Parents' expectations for their children also are linked to the children's achievement and behavior. Although some research has shown that middle-class parents tend to have higher expectations for their children's academic and occupational achievements than lower-class parents (Baker & Entwistle, 1987), other researchers have suggested that the major difference by class is not in the level of expectations but in the degree of control over goals (Lareau, 1987).

Research has also shown that peer attitudes toward attaining educational and occupational achievement (Walberg, 1984) have an important influence on the likelihood of dropping out (Rumberger, 1983) and on discipline problems (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Peer pressure may affect young women and men differently. For example in the area of teenage pregnancy for young women, personal and parental educational expectations, but not peer expectations, significantly reduce the chances of having a child as a teenager. However, for young men it is peer expectations but not personal

and parental expectations that affect the chances of becoming a teen father (anson et al., 1987; and 1989).

Control Over Goals

This set of values and attitudes measures whether young people believe that they are capable of managing the events that shape their future. Self-esteem is one determinant of control. Students need to believe in themselves and their own abilities. Locus of control is another determinant. Young people who believe that their future is determined by their own actions have a "high locus of control."

More than a quarter-century of research has shown that one of the characteristics that most powerfully and consistently influences young people is the degree to which they believe they have control over their future. In his seminal work on factors related to school achievement, Coleman (1966) discovered that a set of attitudes, including the students' self-concept with regard to learning and success in school and students' feeling of control over his or her environment, showed a stronger relationship to achievement than did family background and school variables.

Locus of control and self-esteem have been shown to be related to academic difficulties, dropping out of school, discipline problems, and teenage pregnancy (Connolly, 1978; Morrison, 1985; Rumberger, 1983; Wehlage & Rutter, 1986; Rock et al., 1985; Rock, 1985; Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988). Locus of

control is also related to out-of-school behavior that has been shown to improve academic achievement. When students have a higher locus of control, they spend more time doing homework and reading and less time watching television (Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988).

The literature shows that locus of control has a similar influence in the extent to which parents become involved in their children's education. Researchers have suggested that the different levels of parental involvement by social class are less a reflection of lower expectations among lower-class parents than a reflection of these parents' lack of self-confidence in dealing with school and teachers (Baker & Stevenson, 1986). The ethnographic research of Lareau (1987) shows that middle-class parents feel effective and confident in their dealings with school and teachers, and they assume a joint responsibility with the school. Lower-class parents, in contrast, lack this confidence and even fear that their intervention might do their children more harm than good. Parents who feel confident are more likely than others to participate actively in their children's school and deal directly with their teachers, to monitor their children's school activities and progress, to promote an active and assertive approach to learning, and generally to implement strategies that foster children's achievement (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Bee et al., 1982; Sigel, 1987; Sigel & Olmstead, 1971).

Responsibility

It is not enough for students (and their parents) simply to believe in success; they need to recognize that success takes sustained hard work that may not be pleasurable. Young people need to make the connection between their current actions and outcomes, to realize that achieving goals requires making sacrifices and delaying gratification. Specific attitudes and values in this category include self-discipline and support of the work ethic.

Etzioni (1984) views self-discipline as a form of human capital and suggests that insufficient attention to its development is costly for the economy. Much of Japan's success in the educational and economic spheres is attributed to that country's emphasis on effort and character (Shinahara, 1985; Bohlen, 1984). Japanese schools offer "development of disciplined behavior and healthy attitudes toward work as central to students' academic improvements" (Shimahard, 1985, p. 420). In a significant although controversial analysis of American social policy since the 1960s, Murray (1984) suggests that many of America's employment and educational problems result from attitudes and policies that deemphasize the importance of hard work, responsibility, and the work ethic. Similarly, Stevenson (1986) has observed that Japanese mothers attribute success in school "to the idea that anyone can do well if they study hard," whereas American mothers believe success is primarily the product of ability.

Research on U.S. youths gives strong support to the role that self-discipline and the work ethic play in youths' achievements. Weiner's (1973) research on the relative importance of effort versus ability for achievement suggests that the two are compensatory--that is, extra effort can overcome the handicap of low ability. Entwistle and Brennan (1971) suggest that high-achieving students are likely to rate themselves as hard-working and ambitious, whereas the opposite is true for low-achieving students. High school students are more likely to spend more time on homework, read more, watch less television, and achieve higher grade-point averages (Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988).

As would be expected, research on school dropouts has shown rather consistently that students who are ambitious, industrious, and responsible are less likely than others to drop out of high school (Rumberger, 1983; Bachman et al., 1978; Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988). The limited research on values and delinquency suggests that these work ethic values similarly discourage delinquency (Cervantes, 1965) and school discipline problems (Hanson & Ginsburg, 1988).

Teen sexual activity is closely linked to immaturity, lack of self-discipline, and an inability to associate current actions with future consequences. Many teenagers have difficulty acknowledging their sexuality and taking responsibility for their action (Polsby, 1974). Many adolescents do not use contraceptives, even when they do not want to become pregnant

(Hayes, 1987; Zelnik & Kantner, 1979). In attempting to explain to interviewers why they did not use contraceptives, young women frequently respond irrationally that they had not thought much about the possibility of becoming pregnant; they felt that "it won't happen to me"; or they did not expect to have intercourse (Zelnik & Kanter, 1979; Hayes, 1987; Zellman, 1981; Cvetkovich & Grote, 1980).

What role do responsible parents have in their teenagers' school and related experiences? In his recent work on the declining "social capital" of families, Coleman (1987) suggests that a lack of willingness on the part of many parents to assume responsibility for their children's behavior may play a critical role in today's youth problems. Coleman argues that many parents are turning over the responsibility for their children to the schools; parental abdication of responsibility, he says, leads to youth problems.

Walberg (1984) assigns importance to the "curriculum of the home," which involves "informed parent-child conversations about school and everyday events, encouragement and discussion of leisure reading, monitoring and joint critical analyses of television viewing and peer activities, and expression of affection and interest in the child's academic and other progress as a person" (p. 25). In their research on discipline problems, DiPrete et al. (1981) found that parental concern had a similarly important effect, contrasted with sociceconomic status. Finally, students with parents who show greater concern have also been

found to be less likely to drop out of high school (Rock, 1985) and to use drugs.

With regard to parents' influence on teenage pregnancy and childbearing, research shows that strained parent-child interaction and communication, lack of parental supervision, and "permissive attitudes" of parents toward premarital sex and pregnancy are associated with greater chances of teenage pregnancy (Chilman, 1980; Phipps-Yonas, 1980; Robinson, 1988).

Conformity to Societal Norms

Do young people whose attitudes and values reflect conformity to accepted societal standards tend to be less likely to underachieve and to have behavioral problems? To what extent do young people in the United States share the general societal censure of people who do poorly in school, bear children outside marriage, and use illegal drugs?

People's response to incurring poverty in the United States varies with their underlying beliefs about the applicability of U.S. societal norms to their conditions (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Recent Asian immigrants are very success minded; they view education as a means to self-betterment and they instill this view in their children. Their children work hard, take tough courses, and do extremely well in school.

When a group of people experience pervasive and long-term poverty and believe that disproportionately few adults achieve success through traditional means, their children's motivation to

achieve weakens. Ogbu (1988) identifies a category of "involuntary minorities" for whom historical discrimination has created barriers that have limited real opportunities; these people have developed a "survival culture" that now works against their taking advantage of expanded opportunities as they do occur. These minorities come to believe that certain attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are inappropriate because they are part of the dominant white culture (Holt, 1972; Petroni, 1970). In the context of schooling, "Adoption of school norms and standard behavior practices is to 'act white.'" Peers call those who conform to white norms names like "Uncle Toms" (Petroni, 1970), "braniacs" (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), or "gringos" (Matute-Bianchi, 1986).

Families may play a role in young people's conformity to societal norms. The problem behavior theory outlined by Jessor & Jessor (1978) suggests that early family environment affects the establishment of values and that these values govern later values and behaviors. Jurick (1985) found that some of the family characteristics of young drug users included parental absence, parental conflicts, inconsistent discipline, poor communication, hypocritical morality, and family breakup. Newcomb & Bentler (1988) suggest that these family problems lead to children's disenchantment with traditional values and thus deviant attitudes and behaviors. In addition, when young people are more oriented toward peers (and their less traditional set of values) than toward parents, they have a greater chance of becoming drug users

(Jessor & Jessor, 1978; Hawkins et al., 1986). Hawkins et al. found that young drug users often had an attenuated attachment to parents as well as lack of commitment to education and alienation from traditional norms and values. Jessor (1987) suggests that "low conventionality" is associated with a multitude of problem behaviors ranging from sexual involvement and underachievement to drug use.

Some researchers attribute the higher rates of teenage sexual activity, pregnancy, and out-of-wedlock childbearing among black teenagers than among white teenagers to a greater tolerance and acceptance of these activities by blacks (Hogan & Kitagawa, 1983; Moore et al., 1985). Zelnik and his colleagues (1981) found that black teenagers were considerably less likely to perceive condemnation of unmarried mothers in their neighborhood than were white teenagers.

Successful Intervention Strategies

A number of strategies and programs have been developed to promote positive values and attitudes in students. The tactics discussed here have strong research and evaluation support; typically, efforts to improve students' values are integrated into a comprehensive developmental and academic development rather than treated as an independent element.

Directly Instructing Students in Values

Values instruction is common in parochial schools, where instruction in morality is part of the formal curriculum. In public schools, however, values instruction has often taken a values-neutral form, with values being portrayed as relative to the particular individual or culture. No one value orientation is pressed, and students have been encouraged to develop their own "values system" through self-discovery. In contrast, research supports the view that certain values or attitudes should be promoted because they have been demonstrated to be linked to individual success in school or later life.

This changing philosophy toward the teaching of specific values is evident in the evolution of instruction to prevent drug use and teenage pregnancy. With respect to drug education, throughout most of the 1970s, the objectives of prevention were often stated in terms of "responsible use" (Linbladt, 1983; Vambito, 1985). The doctrine of responsible use held that certain substances, marijuana, in particular, were not harmful to youths so long as they were used in ways that did not interfere with social or emotional functioning. Thus the goal of prevention was to stimualte young persons to make responsible decisions about using substances. As the Department of Education reported in 1987, this approach is now recognized to have been misguided:

> The mounting evidence that young people's basic orientation to substance use (i.e., whether it is right

> or wrong) is a powerful predictor of behavior suggests the need for further development of strategies to inculcate the message that substance abuse is unacceptable. ... These strategies may require greater emphasis on helping young people develop moral understanding and a commitment to socially acceptable values (U.S. Department of Education, 1987, part 2, p.5).

Schools that include families and the community in their efforts to make students understand that drug use is wrong can significantly reinforce the drug prevention message. Often, adults' use of drugs or media glorification of drugs sends messages that contradict the schools' message. The comprehensive Kansas City drug prevention program has adopted a multiple environmental approach that has proved successful in reducing the early use of cigarette, alcohol, and marijuana by adolescents. The program was aimed at 22,000 sixth- and seventh-graders in the Kansas City (Missouri and Kansas) metropolitan area over an 18-month period. Information about resisting drug use was presented in school. Families were encouraged to discuss in their homes family rules about drug use and family strategies to counteract media or community pro-drug-use influences. Television, radio, and the press were enlisted to reinforce the anti-drug use message. An independent evaluation of the program found that participants reported significantly reduced use of cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana.

In the 1960s and 1970s sex education courses also often ignored values or employed "values clarification" techniques in an attempt to avoid "imposing values" (Donahue, 1989). Educators such as Donahue argue, however, that "with students as young as 7th and 8th grade, and with issues as basic as the right to say 'no' and the avoidance of sexual coercion, such an approach seems questionable" (p.5). Sol Gordon's essay on "The Case for Moral Education in the Schools" (1983) compares the distinction between "moral" and "moralistic" education to the distinction between exercising good judgment and being judgmental.

Thus, programs such as Donahue's "Values and Choices" promote values such as honesty, respect, and responsibility as well as sexual abstinence. Such programs provide a framework within which young people can make judgments about the appropriateness of various types of conduct, especially in the context of human sexuality. Approximately 400 communities in 40 states have used the program. An initial evaluation found strong changes in attitudes and intentions. Students who took the course showed increase support for sexual restraint in adolescence and increased frequency of conversations with parents concerning sexuality.

In promoting values through direct instruction, researchers point out the importance of presenting the facts straightforwardly. In the late 1960s, many anti-drug-use programs engaged in scare tactics, presenting overblown and inaccurate information on the consequences of drug use. As a

result the presenters lost credibility and there is even some evidence to suggest that drug use actually increased because the instruction aroused students' curiosity about drugs but failed to get across a credible no-drug-use message (Kinder, 1975; Rand, 1984).

Programs to promote values in academic areas have received less attention than drug prevention programs. Ogbu (1988) argues that we need to pay special attention to native minorities, who have come to reject societal norms, "to adopt a cultural model of schooling similar to the model that 'works' for immigrants." Cultural awareness programs are not enough. Native minorities must be made aware of the consequences of their "low-effort syndrome."

Providing Experientially Based Opportunities

Young people learn values through their everyday experiences. The adage "nothing breeds success like success" typifies the philosophy underlying this approach.

Schools shape students' attitudes toward learning through the kind of experiences they provide to the students. When students complete challenging tasks, they gain a sense of control. They realize that effort, as well as ability, counts, and they develop the self-confidence they need to sustain their efforts.

Particularly during the early childhood years, when children's attitudes toward schooling and learning are being

shaped, students need to be exposed to tasks appropriate for their age (El[illegible]nd). Eheart and Steinkamp (1989) argue that young children need "not only to begin acquiring academic competence, but also to develop social skills and a sense of identity and self-worth."

The High Scope Preschool Curriculum Project, which serves three- and four-year-olds from extremely low income families in Ypsilanti, Michigan, employs an instructional model based on the developmental psychological theories of Piaget (Schweinhart, 1987). The program attempts to build confidence and motivation in children through mastery and accomplishment. To encourage responsibility and independence, each child is permitted to initiate activities within a framework of allowable activities generated by the teacher. Instruction is delivered in small classes with low pupil-to-teacher ratios. Cumulative histories through age 19 of randomly assigned participants and controls show that participants had substantially diminished behavioral problems, including arrests, teenage pregnancies, and welfare dependence.

Children in the elementary grades are expected to be more mature than children in preschool. Schools may for the first time be judging children on their performance. Tracking or grouping is one method by which schools make their judgments of performance known to students. Educators who opposed current grouping practices do so on two grounds: (1) children may be stigmatized by being placed in lower groups and (2) children in

the lower groups may suffer reduced exposure to more complex and stimulating material. Lower self-esteem and motivation have been shown to be a result of this stigmatization.

Evidence from international mathematics studies suggests that sorting of students into ability tracks is more pronounced in the United States than in most other industrial nations (McKnight et al., 1987). High achievement levels in Japan, particularlly in early and middle grades, are achieved with significantly less tracking than in the United States.

Although instructional grouping by student achievement may at times improve teacher efficiency, the same end may be achieved through means that minimize potentially harmful affects on a child's self-image caused by student classification. These strategies provide small group opportunities for students to experience success. In the cooperative learning approach, students work in small groups of four or five students with skills of different levels. Students help one another work on more difficult tasks, prepare for tests, and check one another's work against answer sheets. Teachers typically still instruct students in groups of homogenous skill levels, after which students return to practice with their teams. Tests are taken individually, but demonstrating mastery of material adds to a team's score. In addition to improving academic performance, cooperative approaches have demonstrated success in improving relationships among students from different ethnic backgrounds

and in increasing students' motivation and overall self-esteem (Lyman & Foyle, 1988).

Disadvantaged children also benefit from the continuous progress model, a strategy to develop skills in an orderly progression with frequent testing (Brophy, 1989). Students are continually reassigned to homogenous groups as they progress; groupings are commonly drawn across grades. The ordered progression of material in small steps with high or at least moderate rates of success reinforces self-confidence and teaches self-discipline without alienating children from the schooling process.

Parents of disadvantaged children also can be exposed to experiences that reinforce their attitude toward learning. Low-income parents, many of whom have had unhappy experiences with schools when they were young, find schools threatening and are hesitant to get involved. When their children experience academic or behavior problems, the parents often mistrust the school because they see it as the "mainstream" system that has led to their failure.

James Comer's program (Comer, 1988), developed by the Yale University Study Center for the New Haven schools, concentrates on developing "supportive bonds" to bring children, parents, and school together. Comer proposed the creation in each school of a governance and management team directed by the principal and composed of about a dozen parents, teachers, and mental-health specialists. The team oversees academic and social programs.

Social activities, such as potluck suppers, provide pleasant settings for parents and teachers to get to know one another informally so that parents are less defensive if their children have problems. The program as a whole, which incorporates a comprehensive schoolwide improvement component, has proved to be extremely successful. Schools participating in the Comer program which were initially among the lowest achievers among New Haven schools, now rank among the top group in the city. The Comer strategy is being successfully replicated in about 50 schools throughout the country.

Role Playing

Practicing behavior that reinforces positive values in simulated situations can foster desirable behavior in real-life settings. Role playing most often lets young people practice refusing offers of drugs or sexual relations, although it has applicability to peer pressure that discourages students from seriously pursuing academic work.

Peer resistance techniques that have shown considerable success in reducing the use of cigarettes are now being applied to control drug use (Rand, 1984). These techniques use role playing to demonstrate to youths that it is possible to be independent and mature without using drugs. An analysis of 143 drug prevention studies found that success is highly related to the use of peers in resistance instruction (Tobbler, 1986). Older peers have been effectively used to testify that using

drugs is not a sign of maturity or independence (Rand, 1984). The greatest success has been experienced by programs that begin in the middle school and concentrate on delaying use of drugs, such as alcohol and tobacco, which are gateway substances to the more illicit drugs (Pentz, 1989).

The Kansas City drug prevention program described earlier incorporates peer resistance techniques into its school and home components. The schools train the students to recognize and counteract adult, media, and community influences on drug use; to resist peer pressure; and to handle difficult situations involving potential drug use. In the companion home sessions, students actively interview parents and participate in role-playing situations that counteract pressures outside the home to use drugs.

Assesrtiveness training seeks to teach problem solving, decisionmaking, and interpersonal communication skills through modeling and role rehearsal. As part of a comprehensive sex education program, these interventions are increasingly adopting modeling behavior that stresses abstinence. The Life Skills Counseling Program in Seattle, Washington adopts this approach. Evaluations show that its graduates had better problem solving and communication skills. In addition they had more favorable attitudes about contraception, greater use of contraception, and greater use of more reliable contraception techniques.

Incentives and Opportunities

Inducements or rewards that encourage young people to produce desirable behavior have different forms. Positive incentives reinforce acceptable behavior; punitive ones discourage rule breaking or other forms of undesirable behavior. Some incentives involve recognition by people whom youths hold in high regard. Incentives may also take the form of monetary rewards, such as improved employment.

Deterrence through rules, laws, and penalties fell into disrepute during the permissive climate of many American schools during the 1960s and 1970s. Schools set laws that reflected community practice. As some states liberalized drug laws and localities deemphasized enforcement, schools followed suit (Klitzner, 1987).

An effective school discipline policy is now being considered one of the important elements in an overall plan to develop a school climate conducive to learning. Research shows that students in schools with high concentrations of low-income students are more than twice as likely to experience serious crime (National Institute of Education, 1978). A body of research on schools that serve low-income students effectively has identified an orderly and disciplined school environment as one of the characteristics of schools that are consistently associated with above-average achievement (Purkey & Smith, 1983).

Effective discipline requires establishing clear rules of conduct, enforcing the rules firmly and fairly, and providing

counseling to help students correct their behavior or attitude problems. As already mentioned, Comer's program in the New Haven schools includes a team of mental-health specialists to diagnose and address students' developmental and behavioral problems. In addition, each school provides a "crisis" room for children who have temporarily lost self-control to regain their composure without excessive disruption and confrontation.

In the Anne Arundel, Maryland, school system outside Washington, D.C., students caught using or possessing drugs are suspended for up to five days. To return to school, parents must meet with school officials and the student must agree to participate in the district's after-school drug counseling. Students caught using or possessing drugs a second time are expelled. Anne Arundel's combination of strong penalties and counseling to reinforce a clear no-use message has been effective. Over a six-year period, drug offenses in Anne Arundel's schools have declined by 60 percent.

Students who lack motivation to succeed in school require positive incentives to engage their interest in school. Older students who associate schools with failure may need alternative settings. Such students need to perceive an achievable and practical end goal from schooling.

The Cooperative Federation for Educational Experiences (Project COFFEE) is a small alternative high school whose main campus serves 80 students in an economically depressed part of rural Massachusetts (Orr, 1986; Sherman, 1987). Project COFFEE

combines basic academics and counseling with applied training in fast-growth vocations. The occupational training component of COFFEE is what attracts and keeps students in the program. The focus is on providing hands-on experience in word processing, computer maintenance and repair, horticulture and agriculture, distributive education, and building maintenance and repair, according to their stated interests. Students whose academic work is faltering lose work-study privileges until their academic performance improves. The federal government's Joint Dissemination Review Panel, which was established to assess evidence of program effectiveness, found that Project COFFEE has improved the attendance, achievement, and employability of its participants.

Employment incentives have also been used effectively in pregnancy prevention through "life option" programs, which aim to heighten young people's motivation to avoid pregnancy by improving their life options. Research shows that teens who have plans and expectations are more motivated to avoid pregnancy than aimless teens are (Hofferth & Miller, 1989; Pollit et al., 1988). The Summer Training and Employment Program (STEP) is a program for 14- to 15-year-old disadvantaged youths that was initiated in 1985 by Public/Private Ventures, a nonprofit Philadelphia-based research and demonstration corporation. The goals of STEP are to prevent declines in school achievement over the summer and to reduce dropout and pregnancy rates. STEP provides work, tutoring, and training in life skills for two summers, as well as

additional remedial support throughout the year. The program builds on the existing Summer Youth Employment and Training Program of the federal government. Results indicate that most students improved their reading and math skills and that responsible use of birth control increased among participants who were sexually active.

Providing Good Role Models

Normal role models for children and youth--persons who are closely associated with students and are respected by them and persons whose behavior the students emulate--are parents, peer groups, and teachers. Tutors who aid in school work and mentors who may provide counseling and act as older confidants also may be important role models.

Because parents are their children's first and most important teachers, it is not surprising that children model parental behavior. Children of parents who use drugs or alcohol are themselves at greater risk of becoming substance abusers (Hawkins et al., 1987). Parent training prevention strategies have been successful in educating parents about the consequences of their own substance use for their children's behavior (Klitzner, 1987). Also, children of parents who use drugs or alcohol are at greater risk of becoming substance abusers, themselves (Hawkins et.al., 1987). Parent training prevention strategies have been successful in educating parents about the

consequences of their own substance use on their children' s behavior (Klitzner, 1987).

Mentor programs use college students or older adults outside the family to act as informal advisers and role models for children. A summary of research on mentor programs for disadvantaged students concluded that these programs improve the students' motivation, attitude toward education, self-esteem, and self-confidence, thereby leading to better academic performance (Reisner, 1989). This report found that effective programs tended to be highly structured requiring definite time commitments from mentors; systematic screening of prospective mentors to match traits and interests; training of mentors; and regular communications among mentors, classroom teachers, and parents.

The HOSTS (Help One Student To Succeed) program, which has been implemented in many school districts in Texas, California, Hawaii, Oregon, and Washington state, uses mentors to provide disadvantaged students with one-on-one instruction in reading. The assumption of HOSTS is that children will benefit academically and emotionally from "personal attention and positive recognition" provided through properly trained mentors (Willbur, 1989). Students are matched with trained mentors, who provide individual attention, motivation, and support to students whose individual academic deficiencies have been specifically identified. Mentors develop individual instructional plans with the aid of a computerized system of resource materials. HOSTS'

evaluations supporting statistically significant gains in student reading have been independently reviewed and validated by the U.S. Department of Education and the California and Texas State education agencies. In awarding HOSTS its top literacy program for 1987, the Texas education stated: "Students succeed because caring, professional tutors ensure that they complete assignments and accomplish learning objectives. The program builds self-confidence and self-esteem ... Students develop self discipline" (REACH, 1987).

Implications and Recommendations

Educators need to recognize that holding strong positive values helps children to succeed in school and life. Although children from all backgrounds may benefit from strategies to promote such values, disadvantaged children particularly would profit if schools gave greater attention to encouraging proper conduct and improving academic motivation in their students.

Because the values students hold are a product of their cumulative experience inside and outside school, values are not easily changed. This report offers no "magic bullet," but this review of research and practice does suggest some promising strategies to implementing a values approach. Specific recommendations are as follows:

- Values approaches should be integrated into each school's overall program of student improvement. Students learn values throughout their school

experience. Each school should review its discipline policies, the climate for learning, and classroom experiences to ascertain opportunities to reinforce positive values.

- Schools should develop comprehensive strategies that address home and community influences, as well as the influences within each school. Children spend only about 12 percent of their waking hours in school, so school-based strategies alone cannot be expected to transmit lasting values. Strategies should be aimed at parents, the media, and the rest of the community.
- Opportunity must be recognized as an essential component of many values strategies, and providing opportunity costs extra money. Disadvantaged children may require special attention for remediation and counseling. Older youths may need real job opportunities to encourage academic motivation and to prevent teenage pregnancy. Activities to reach disadvantaged parents require extra staff. The supervision and the training of adult volunteers as mentors take money.
- Schools must design individualized tactics appropriate to achieving specific outcomes. Strategies focused on resisting peer influences through role play, for example, are particularly critical to prevent drug use -- an area in which research has shown peer influence

to be particularly strong. Strategies focusing on succ ss in the workplace may be critical to prevent older discouraged youths from dropping out of school. Students will gain confidence in their own ability to do academic work only when they experience success as a result of their own effort and self-discipline.

- Strategies need to be consistent and long-term. Changing personality and value characteristics of youth requires programs that extend over a considerable period of time and which have follow-ups or "boosters" built into them.

The values that promote success for disadvantaged students are essentially no different from the values that work for all other children. Although students may learn values in a variety of cultural environments and may face greatly varying challenges to their values, the broad strategies for success outlined in this report can be effective and productive for all groups.